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AUTHOR Koike, Shohei
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ABSTRACT

This paper examines cultural differences between Japan and the United States and presents materials designed to help learners of Japanese understand patterns of behavior in that country through realistic episodes and situations. Understanding status differences is important for effective social and business communication with the Japanese. Status differences are reflected not only in the Japanese language, but in the way that Japanese think and act in social and business settings. The Japanese emphasis on distinction is closely linked to personal interdependence. Japanese attitudes towards reservation and hesitation, initiative and presumption, and group belonging are also examined. Two appendixes present examples of typical business situations in English and Japanese, focusing on the problems that many Americans have in dealing effectively with Japanese social and business customs. (MDM)

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TEACHING STATUS DIFFERENCES IN JAPANESE BUSINESS SETTINGS

A Paper to be presented

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Shohei Koike, Ph.D.

American Graduate School of

International Management

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Understanding status differences is important for effective social and business communication with the Japanese. Status differences are reflected not only in the Japanese language, but in the way that the Japanese think and act in social and business settings. Even though the Japanese language class presents an ideal opportunity to help learners to understand and perform the Japanese culture, the lack of proper instructional materials makes it difficult for instructors to go beyond the linguistic instruction of honorific and humble expressions.

As will be described in the following paragraphs, the Japanese emphasis on status differences is only part of the more extensive and complex patterns of behavior. It is one thing to understand the patterns of behavior in theoretical and analytical terms, and it is another thing to learn in concrete terms how the Japanese actually communicate and interact in real situations. For the latter purpose, learners must become familiar with many situations where various patterns of behavior manifest themselves. The material I am developing is an attempt to combine theoretical and conceptual understanding of the Japanese patterns of behavior with presentation of realistic episodes and situational examples. Those episodes or situations will be written both in English and in Japanese. The English version will be for beginning and intermediate level students, while the Japanese version will be for more advanced students so that they can learn the language and culture simultaneously. An example of such episodes will be found in the appendices.

Distinction and Interdependence

People make distinction between each other and act on such distinctions. Individuals notice or make distinctions between themselves in race, sex, age,

role, status and wealth. They also acknowledge that they differ in their talents and abilities as well as in their wants and needs. Such distinction constitutes a basis for trade (exchange), cooperation, interdependence, competition, discrimination, exploitation or control. The differences in sex, for example, could be a basis for prostitution (exchange or exploitation), marriage (cooperation and interdependence), or sexual harassment (discrimination and control).

As individuals grow up, they learn to communicate and interact with others differently, depending on whom they deal with and what settings they are in. Children, for example, learn how to treat their peers and teachers differently at school. However, beliefs and customs on how to treat different people differently, varies from one culture to another. Many Americans, for example, believe in equalizing or minimizing differences (as in age, sex, status, etc.) in the interpersonal relationship. They make efforts to treat different people equally by applying the same principles and rules of conduct to all people, although they acknowledge that, in reality, some are treated more equally than others. Such belief and efforts are important to maintain unity with ethnic and cultural diversity in the U.S.

In contrast, Japanese children learn, and adults openly acknowledge, that it is important to treat "different people" differently, and "equal people" equally. To most Japanese, "different people" means (1) Japanese nationals (other than ethnic minorities such as Koreans, Chinese and Ainu) who are ethnically and culturally homogeneous but different in age, sex, role, status, etc.; and (2) foreigners who are ethnically and culturally different form the Japanese. "Equal people," on the other hand, include every one under the law, close friends of the same age, students of the same class, twin brothers or

sisters in the family, employees of the same rank and seniority in the same company. Based on this principle of distinction, the Japanese communicate and interact with each other differently, depending on whom they deal with and what settings they are in. Unlike the stereotypical image (harmonious, polite, etc.) that the Western media often presents, the Japanese could be individualistic, rude, self-assertive, talkative, direct, spontaneous, competitive, and argumentative, depending on whom they interact with and what settings they are in.

The Japanese emphasis on distinction is closely linked to their open acknowledgment of mutual dependence in the interpersonal relationship. Distinction provides a basis for interdependence. When one chooses to depend on someone to satisfy one's particular want or need, one seeks someone who is either different or similar (equal) in age, sex, status, wealth and so on depending on what one wants or needs. For example, when Japanese adult women really want to have a pleasant conversation in a relaxed, casual, non-competitive atmosphere, they may exclude men from their social gathering so that they won't be bothered by the rules and customs that they may have to observe if "different" people are present. In other words, such female friends may seek "horizontal" interdependence based on separation or exclusion --"horizontal" in the sense that they consider themselves equal or similar in many significant respects. People also depend for their wants or needs on others who are different in age, status, experiences, talents, abilities. For example, when a young, inexperienced Japanese worker needs instruction and advice on his job, he will rely on his senior (older) colleagues or his immediate superior (older and higher in ranking). The young worker is expected, in return, to show his respect and loyalty, which his senior or

superior needs in order to effectively carry out their own work. This interdependence is "vertical" in the sense that the relationship between the two parties in this setting is hierarchical, determined by the two factors--age and organizational rank or title.

Interdependence (*mochitsu motaretsu*) has been the way of life in the resource-poor Japan where today over 120 million people live in the area smaller than California. Most Japanese really appreciate the benefits of depending on others and the costs of not being depended upon. It is taken for granted that one's welfare or satisfaction depends much on choices that others make, and that interpersonal relationships are reciprocal in nature. At the psychological level, many Japanese have a strong fear of being abandoned or ostracized if they do not act on the norm of interdependence. The fear of isolation has its reverse side, that is, many Japanese value a sense of belonging and security when they can depend on each other in group settings.

People choose to rely on others for something that cannot be obtained by themselves or that is obtained more efficiently than by self-reliance. The Japanese are more likely than Americans to communicate and interact with people differently so that they can maximize their welfare from both horizontal and vertical interpersonal relations. Since individuals differ in many aspects including their needs and wants as well as talents and abilities, distinction could provide greater opportunities for interdependence than equal treatment of different people.

Japan is relatively homogeneous ethnically and culturally since the number of the ethnic minorities is small and they have been pressured to to assimilate in the mainstream culture. It seems that this homogeneity has made it possible to emphasize differences and distinctions in interpersonal

relations while maintaining social unity. Without such ethnic and cultural homogeneity, it would be difficult to develop and agree on complex social rules according to which people communicate and interact differently with others. This constitutes a sharp contrast with the U.S. where the ethnic and cultural diversity requires simpler and more universal rules that do not openly emphasize differences not only in race, but in age, sex, status and so on in the interpersonal relationship.

Interdependence in Japan is often emphasized in its relation to the concept or ideology of *wa* (harmony). Many Japanese leaders in business, government and education often stress the significance of harmony and cooperation in the interdependent relation. It is true that most Japanese are generally more interdependent among themselves than Americans are, and that most Japanese are more likely to work in teams cooperatively and harmoniously--at least on the surface. But it is also true that some people are *more dependent* than others, and some people, such as foreigners and the ethnic minorities in Japan, are excluded to a larger extent than others from significant interdependent relations. This emphasis on harmonious interdependence based on distinction could also lead to: (1) excessive expectation or need to depend on others, known as *amaey*; (2) collusive interdependence in business and politics, as in *dango* (rigged bidding) and *yuchaku*; (3) excessive pressure for conformity and loyalty; and (4) tendency to fiercely compete with or exclude "outsiders"--whether Japanese or foreign.

The Japanese emphasis on interdependence is closely related to the following communicative and behavioral patterns that often puzzle or frustrate many foreigners. The patterns include: (1) treating people in the manner proper to their age, sex, role and position (rank), especially showing

deference to people older or higher in status; (2) expressing preferences and opinions directly or indirectly, and openly or evasively, depending on settings or surroundings, as in *tatemae* and *honne* ; (3) refraining from doing something despite someone else's suggestion or invitation, as in *enryo* ; (4) doing something on presumption or empathy without someone else's request, as in *sasshi* ; (5) treating people differently, depending on their group membership or affiliation, as in *uchi* and *soto* . These communicative and behavioral patterns are related to the conscious or subconscious attempt to maximize welfare from the interdependent relationship.

Status Differences

The Japanese are expected to behave and expect to be treated in the manner proper to their age, sex, role and position (rank) compared with others. In the vertical interpersonal relation, people are expected to show deference to others who are older and/or higher in status. At school settings, students are expected to show deference to their teachers; in the market, buyers generally outrank sellers, who are expected to show respect and humility to buyers. However, it is important to note that these status variables interact with each other in determining the proper way to interact with people. For example, when other things are constant, younger people are expected to show deference to older people, but age difference could be insignificant when the organizational rank of a younger person outranks that of an older person. Gender difference could also be insignificant when differences in age, role and/or rank are more relevant in determining the relative status. In the male-dominated society, where women are generally more dependent on men, there are much fewer women who hold significant

positions in the private and public sectors. But gender difference could be insignificant when women play a significant role or when they are equal to or higher in organizational ranking than men. (A good example of such women is Ms. Takako Doi, former chairperson of the Japan Socialist Party.)

In the calculus of interdependence, the Japanese consciously or subconsciously recognize who is more dependent under given settings. For example, Japanese students depend on academic achievement and advising from their teachers more than the teachers depend on their students for deference and good behavior in the classroom. Education is taken very seriously both by students and parents in Japan as a means to make their way in life, and teachers go a long way towards helping them to succeed. In such an environment, Japanese teachers generally enjoy a higher social status than American counterparts. At the work place, senior co-workers *de facto* outrank new recruits in status, even if they have the same formal position or title. The junior worker is not expected to negotiate the relationship with senior coworkers by showing off his talent and ability. He will not openly compete with seniors to threaten their status in the organization. Since seniors usually have more experience and skill that is often organization-specific, the junior worker who is just out of college is more dependent on his senior colleagues in order to perform his job effectively. In such an environment, senior colleagues have an incentive to teach their skills and look after junior colleagues, who are, in return, expected to show deference and loyalty to seniors. In this calculus of interdependence, it is a rational choice to show deference to someone who is older and/or higher in status.

In the Japanese market, buyers or customers no doubt outrank sellers. Many Japanese tourists in the U.S. are surprised at the lack of respect and

humility shown to them as customers, and in business negotiation with Americans, Japanese buyers are often offended by an attempt by the American side to equalize the status difference between the buyer and the seller. However, the higher status of buyers is qualified by the calculus of interdependence or the balance of bargaining power in the market. For example, attendants of neighborhood gas stations and grocery stores in Japan are generally much politer than cruising cab drivers, some of whom are very rude. Local gas stations and grocery stores are more dependent on regular customers who can choose other sellers if they are not satisfied with their service. They would have to pay a high price if they were rude to their customers. Cruising cab drivers, on the other hand, do not have regular customers to depend on. Their business performance is affected little, if any, by their attitude towards each customer, to whom the cost of distinguishing polite cab drivers from rude ones far exceeds the benefit.

To the extent that Japanese individuals accept and act on these relative status differences, they do not have to prove themselves or negotiate the relationship with others. The rules and customs on status differences, to the extent that they are held by individuals in society, will also reduce uncertainty over interdependence. They will provide a certain assurance that individuals will act in some predictable manners. Such rules and customs will also help individuals to identify who is both able and willing to provide them with what they want or need. In this context, many Japanese feel very awkward or uneasy when they have to communicate and interact with persons whom they cannot expect to observe the rules and customs on status differences--for example, when they have to deal with foreigners who do not speak Japanese or, worse, whose Japanese language competency is not accompanied by a correspond-

ing level of cultural proficiency.

Settings or Surroundings

In an attempt to maximize welfare, consciously or subconsciously, from the interdependent relation, the Japanese tend to express preferences and opinions directly or indirectly, specifically or generally, clearly or vaguely, depending not only on whom they interact with, but on what settings they are in. The settings or surroundings can be formal or informal, public or private, and inclusive or exclusive. For example, Japanese politicians, like their American counterparts, communicate differently with their constituents and interest groups in an attempt to maximize their election chance or votes. When politicians publicly address to a large number of people with diverse views, their speech tends to be general and vague for public consumption so that it will not alienate some voters in favor of others. On the other hand, politicians may be more informal, specific and direct when they have a private meeting with a small group of supporters or big contributors of campaign money. Career diplomats also speak and act differently to maximize their chance of succeeding in negotiations, depending on whether they are in the public eyes or in secret e or closed-door meetings. Like politicians, diplomats are a master performer of *tatemae* (form) and *honne* (substance). Many Japanese are effective "diplomats" as long as they deal with other "diplomats" who act on the same rules and customs about how to interact with each other under different settings and surroundings.

In negotiating with the Japanese, Americans are often surprised to find that the same ritualistic and formal Japanese negotiators communicate and behave more informally, often even casually, and more openly and spontaneously

when they socialize over drinks in the evening. This seems especially true when a small group of staff or junior-ranking managers socialize with their counterparts of equivalent ranking. There must be a tacit agreement, however, that what the Japanese reveal at an informal setting, is not an official stance until it is expressed at a formal setting. In a formal setting where each plays a different role in the official capacity, the Japanese feel that an open, bottom-line discussion may result in embarrassing someone in front of other people especially when they don't know much about his or her preferences and opinions in advance. In a world of interdependence, nobody is certain of whom he or she will have to depend on in the future. It is, therefore, a rational strategy for the Japanese to be indirect and vague in a formal setting so that they will not embarrass any potential client or partner whom they don't know well. Japanese negotiators could get down to detailed business discussion following a brief, small talk when they negotiate with other Japanese companies with which they have already established a business relationship. But when they deal with unfamiliar foreign companies, the Japanese tend to be vary cautious and formal, taking time in sounding out on what their intentions are and how reliable they are. In other words, Japanese negotiators want to know if the other side is a good candidate for establishing a long-term interdependent business relation. Even when the Japanese decide not to do business with a foreign company for the time being, they may not tell its negotiators directly at a formal meeting. It is important, therefore, for foreign companies to develop an informal channel of communication with the Japanese side so that they can better understand what the Japanese intentions are.

Reservation and Hesitation

In the interpersonal relationship, the Japanese often hesitate to do something that they prefer or want even when someone else suggests or invites them to do so. An American host, for example, may see his Japanese guests hesitate and fail to say anything when he asks in Japanese, "*Nanika nomitai desuka* (Would you care for something to drink?)" In the first place, the the guests will not be used to such a question asking directly about their preferences. They will feel that answering "no" is not polite because it disregards the host's kind offer. On the other hand, answering "yes" would put the guests in a situation where they have to make a choice on what to drink. What if the host does not have something that they will ask for? If they were the host, they would be embarrassed. The guests would feel more comfortable if the host serves tea or something without asking them.

In a group setting, such hesitation or self-constraint also occurs even when several friends decide on, say, which restaurant to go. Japanese individuals hesitate to directly express their own preferences when preferences of others in the same group are not known. Each individual knows that if someone expresses his or her preference directly, others will feel obliged to accomodate the preference even if it disagrees with their own. Interdependent Japanese individuals do not want others to think that they are selfish or inconsiderate of others' wants or needs. A rational strategy in such a case would be to sound out on others' preferences, not by asking, "Where would you like to go?," but by making suggestive statements like "The tempura I ate at a such-and-such restaurant was tasty."

Initiative on Presumption

Interdependent Japanese individuals are expected to do something that is

quite the opposite of reservation or hesitation, that is, to take the initiative to do something even when they are not openly told or requested to do so. Such reservation and initiative are often the two sides of the same coin. For example, a Japanese host serves tea or coffee (cold drinks in summer) without asking his guest, "Would you care for something to drink?" This is because the host knows that the guest would say "*Doozo okamai naku* (lit., please don't bother) if the guest were asked such a question. Foreign guests who have been invited to visit Japan often feel overwhelmed by many receptions and detailed schedule prepared by the well-meaning Japanese host who has not asked for their preferences. When Japanese individuals want to show good will to someone with whom they hope to develop an interdependent relationship, they often engage in pre-emptive giving. Japanese hosts, for example, lavishly entertain or give expensive gifts to guests whom they meet for the first time. They may do a favor for someone without asking him or her, assuming that it will be appreciated. A Japanese receiver of a favor would be more likely to feel that such a favor will have to be returned some day.

At the office, Japanese workers are often expected to carry out a task or even to find (create) one without specific instructions from superiors or colleagues. Japanese managers with Japanese affiliates in the U.S. often complain that American workers do only what they are told to do or what is specified in their job description; and American workers complain that Japanese managers don't explain the exact steps, authority and responsibility to carry out an assignment. Many Japanese managers do not understand why such explanation as well as direct feedback and encouragement are important to American workers. They do not know that American workers often lack the sense of security and the sharing of blame and credit that are not uncommon at the

more interdependent Japanese organization.

Group Belonging

In the calculus of interdependence, the Japanese distinguish between members of their "in-group" and others or "outsiders." The in-group is a reference group against which others are regarded "out-group" people. The reference group can be a family, a class of students, a team of players, co-workers of a section or department, employees of a company, and the Japanese as a nation compared to foreigners. When the family is a reference group, all the other people are outsiders; when the company is a reference group, all the others, whether clients or competitors, are outsiders. The out-group people basically fall into three types depending on the nature and the level of interdependence (or the lack of it): (1) real or potential friends and allies with whom the in-group members are more or less interdependent or want to be so; (2) competitors and adversaries; and (3) strangers.

The Japanese acknowledge that no one in society cannot live without relying on others in one way or another, and that no one is sure of whom one will depend on in the future. Many Japanese also feel good by helping each other without expecting any reciprocity in the future. The acknowledgment that human relations are complementary in nature, makes many Japanese try to be at least polite even when they interact with out-group competitors and strangers. But there are definite differences in the way that the Japanese treat the above three types of out-group people. To out-group friends and allies, such as clients, guests and invited visitors, in-group members show respect and humility by honoring outsiders and by humbling themselves and other in-group members. Out-group competitors will encounter fierce competition even when

they are treated politely on the surface, and they will be excluded from important affiliations and alliances. Strangers are generally treated with equal politeness, distance or indifference as long as they play the expected role of stranger.

Those strangers who are easily (or falsely) identified as non-Japanese by their appearance, are treated differently from Japanese strangers. Many Japanese shy away from foreign strangers because they feel uneasy about dealing with the unknown and unpredictable, and because they don't want to be embarrassed in public when they are seen unable to communicate with foreigners. Ordinary Japanese in Japan would never ask foreigners in the street for directions, as Americans do in the U.S. (who cannot at a glance distinguish between foreigners and Americans). Some adventurous foreigners may be politely denied entry into some drinking places in the red-light districts whose managers do not want to invite any trouble because of cultural differences. Still, there are many other Japanese who treat foreigners, especially Westerners, with much curiosity and hospitality as if the visitors were their own invited guests or celebrities. Most Japanese are generally lenient towards foreigners who do not follow Japanese etiquette and customs when they can speak little or no Japanese. However, the higher their level of oral proficiency in Japanese, the more the Japanese expect them to understand and perform the Japanese culture. In any case, foreigners are treated differently from Japanese nationals, whether with hospitality or indifference. It often happens that some Americans incorrectly generalize from their experiences of short stays in Japan on how the Japanese communicate and interact with each other. They don't realize they have been treated as *okyakusama* or visiting guests who are not expected to follow a dictum, "When

in Japan, do as the Japanese do."

The differential treatment of foreigners is one of the reasons why some American students who have been to Japan need extra efforts by instructors of Japanese to make them realize when they come back that they communicate and interact with the instructors improperly (*i.e.*, disrespectfully). Unlike the classroom setting, the business world will not give many opportunities to learn by mistakes without serious consequences. To make students prepare to deal with the Japanese effectively, the culture must be systematically incorporated into the language class.

APPENDIX A

CASE X YES OR NO?

by Shohei Koike

Place: A meeting room of JN Corp., a Japanese company.

People: Mr. Johnson, a sales manager of AM Corp, an American company that is looking for a distributor of its new products in Japan. He has hired an interpreter.

Mr. Tanaka, a section chief in the sales department of JN Corp. He is accompanid by a few junior staff members.

Situation:

Before this meeting was arranged, Johnson had been introduced to JN Corp by an executive of its "main" bank that is also a major shareholder of the Japanese company. Johnson knew that the introducer or *shokaisha* plays an important role when contacting a Japanese company for the first time.

As Johnson was chatting with Tanaka before getting down to business, a young female employee came in and served Japanese tea to Johnson. He was never asked if he would care for coffee or something. Johnson felt like smoking.

Johnson: "Do you mind if I smoke?"
Tanaka: "Oh, yes."
Johnson: "Do you mind?"
Tanaka: "Yes, yes, please. I smoke, too."

Johnson made a well-prepared presentation emphasizing merits of becoming a distributor of AM Corp's products. The Japanese side was quietly listening to him throughout the presentation, taking notes very carefully. When Johnson talked to Tanaka, he occasionally nodded saying "yes, yes." When Johnson finished his presentation, he expected the Japanese side to ask specific questions on the products and proposed terms on distribution, but the Japanese side asked only general questions about AM Corp and Johnson himself.

Tanaka: "Kyowa oisogashi tokoro domo arigato gozaimashita. Onsha no goteianwa korekara kento sasete itadakimasu node...."
Interpreter: "Thank you for your visit and presentation. We will carefully examine your proposal."
Johnson: Taken aback by the sudden ending of the meeting, hastily says, "Don't we agree we'll have another meeting soon?"
Tanaka: "Ee, desukara sorewa kento no uede...."
Johnson: Without waiting for the interpreter's translation, says, "Is that 'yes'?" (When he took a crash Japanese lesson before coming to Japan, Johnson learned that "ee" means "yes.")

Interpreter: "Mr. Tanaka is saying that he will let you know after examining your proposal."

Questions to Ponder

1. Why did the Japanese serve tea to Johnson without asking if he would care for something to drink?

2. Why do you think Tanaka said "yes" in English when Johnson asked, "Do you mind if I smoke?"

3. Why do you think the Japanese side did not ask specific questions on the products and terms on distribution?

4. Judging from the attitudes and behaviors of the Japanese side during Johnson's presentation, do you think that they are interested in his proposal but they need time to examine it carefully?

5. How do you explain the lack of feedback, the ambiguous response and the seemingly uncommital attitudes on the part of the Japanese side.

APPENDIX B

ケース　X：　曖昧な返事

場所　　日本の会社（ＪＮ社）の会議室。

登場人物　ジョンソン。　米国ＡＭ社のセールス・マネージャー。　新製品の日本での販売を取り扱う会社を探している。　通訳を同伴。

田中。　ＪＮ社の営業課長。　部下３名を同伴。

ジョンソンは　ＪＮ社のメイン・バンクで、主要株主でもある銀行の重役に紹介を依頼し、今日の「商談」の前に　一度　ＪＮ社を訪問していた。　日本の会社と初めて連絡を取る時は紹介者が大切な役割を果たすことを聞いていたからだ。

「商談」に入る前、ジョンソンが田中と雑談をしていると、女子社員がジョンソンにお茶を持って来た。　誰もジョンソンに「コーヒーでもいかがですか」と聞かなかった。
ジョンソンは　タバコが吸いたくなった。　田中にタバコを吸ってもいいかと聞くと、田中は英語で答えた。

ジョンソン：　Do you mind if I smoke?
田中：　Oh, yes.
ジョンソン：　Do you mind?
田中：　Yes, yes, please.　I smoke, too.

ジョンソンは　てぎわよく　話を進め、ＡＭ社の製品の販売を扱うことの利点を強調した。ＪＮ社側は　注意深く記録を取りながら、ジョンソンの話を最後まで静かに聞いていた。ジョンソンが　特に田中に話しかける場面もあったが、田中は　うなずきながら、「イエス、イエス。」と答えていた。　話を終えて、ジョンソンは　ＪＮ社側から製品や取り引き条件についての具体的な質問があるのを期待していた。　ところが、期待に反し、日本側はＡＭ社やジョンソン自身についての一般的な質問をするだけだった。

田中：　今日は　お忙しいところを　ありがとうございました。　御社のご提案は　これから検討させて頂きますので。
通訳：　Thank you for your visit and presentation.　We will carefully study your proposal.

ジョンソン：　（「商談」のあっけない終りにあわてて）　Don't we agree we'll have another meeting soon?

田中：　ええ、ですから　それは　検討の上で、．．．．

ジョンソン：　（通訳をまたずに）　Is that "yes?"（ジョンソンは日本へ来る前、一夜づけで日本語を習い、「ええ」というのは「イエス」のことだと理解していた。）

通訳：　Mr. Tanaka is saying that he will let you know after studying your proposal.

＊＊　考えてみよう　＊＊

1. どうしてＪＮ社側はジョンソンに「何かお飲み物はいかがですか。」と聞かないで、お茶を持ってきたのですか。

2. ジョンソンが「タバコを吸ってもいいですか。」と聞いた時、田中課長は英語で「イエス」と答えましたがと、どうしてだと思いますか。

3. 日本側は　どうして　製品や取り引き条件について　具体的な質問をしなかったのだと思いますか。

4. ジョンソンが話しを終えるまでの日本側の態度から考えて、日本側はジョンソンの提案には興味があるのだが、じっくりと検討する時間が必要なのだと思いますか。

5. 日本側はジョンソンの提案について具体的な質問せず、始終　曖昧な態度で望みましたが　どうしてだと思いますか。